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(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

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A Vision Of India.

ASOKA.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

O tree with bright green leaves and ruby bloom
Thou shinest far with flashing diadem
Of flowers each like a passion-hearted gem,
And light'st with love's bright lamp the heart's dark room!
Who thus thy form with splendour did illume?
Could I but gently touch thy beauty's hem
I shall no more this life of mine condemn
So full of passion's deep and sinful gloom.
Beneath thy flaming splendours sat the queen
Of Rama's heart, the goddess bright supreme
Of all the universe in utter grief.
Asoka in that time thy smiling mien
Sweet as a song and lovely as a dream
Her *soka* soothed with shining flower and leaf.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 17, APL., 1919.

The Arrest of 'Mahatma' Gandhi.

Once more the mask has fallen. Once more we have a most clear demonstration of how the Executive fulfil the pledges they give whenever they seek to arm themselves with extraordinary and special powers of repression, that these powers will be used only with the greatest moderation under the barest necessity and with the highest sense of fair-play. Once more we have a most patent abuse of authority, by the misapplication of a Special Act to a case which, however annoying, can by no stretch of imagination be brought within the four corners of that Act. The Defence of India Act under which we learn 'Mahatma' Gandhi has been arrested was enacted purely as a war measure; "owing to the existing state of war" the preamble said "it is expedient to provide for special measures to secure the public safety and the defence of British India;" wherefore section I (4) laid down "This Act shall be in force during the continuance of the present War and for a period of six months thereafter." In explaining this last phrase Sir Reginal Craddock the member in charge of the Bill declared "we require these powers only during the continuance of the War, and for six months after;—that is to say until the excitement and disturbance of the general calm, which the state of War engenders, have had time to subside." The Council unanimously supported the Bill on the distinct understanding that it was a War measure, and Sir Reginal wound up with the statement that "no loyal and peaceful citizen need feel any alarm at the introduction of this legislation." But how has the Act been worked till now? Has it always and solely been applied against the enemies of the King-Emperor whether subjects or foreigners? Has it been put into force only against those who sought to imperil the safety and defence of India? The first notable answer we had was when in 1917 Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale, and Mr. Wadia were interned under this Act by the Madras Government. Under this same Act the Punjab and the Delhi Governments for a time externed both Tilak and Pal. Many lesser people were restrained by this Act who had never interfered with the safety and defence of British India but who were political agitators whose ways, however troublesome, were constitutional and not unlawful. And the last holy use of this Act is against 'Mahatma' Gandhi.

It is under section 2 (*f*) of the Defence of India Act and under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules framed in pursuance of section 2 of the Act that all this action has been taken against these persons. Under the abovementioned section and rule where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person has acted, is acting, or is about to act, in a manner prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of British India, the Local Government may, by order in writing, direct that such person (*a*) shall not enter, reside, or remain in any area specified in the order, (*b*) shall reside, or remain in any area in

British India so specified; (c) shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such acts or take such order with any property in his possession or under his control as may be specified in such order." Under this rule it is that Mahatma Gandhi stands externed from the Panjab, and Delhi, and interned in Bombay. Two questions clearly arise: (1) How far, if at all, has Gandhi acted or is acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety? and (2) Can the Defence of India Act be with any fairness applied to him?

Firstly then how far or to whom is Gandhi dangerous? Is he a lawless man? We fear we have tainted our pen in formulating this question. The sin shall rest on the Government officers that have served the order on him, and have unblushingly declared that he has imperilled or is imperilling the safety and defence of British India. Mahatma Gandhi, the enemy of all lawlessness, the prince of peace, who even in thought can never hurt any fellow-being—he of all men, we are asked to believe, has acted in a manner prejudicial to public safety. We must decline to perform any such feat of imagination. We are however willing and ready to admit that as the leader and inspirer of the *Satyagraha* movement, Gandhi has deliberately acted in a manner very annoying and embarrassing to Government. We are willing to admit that in selling proscribed literature Gandhi has violated the Press Act. We are ready to confess that in enjoying strict self-control upon his followers Gandhi has greatly disappointed those who had expected that the passive resistance movement would take to active resistance of some kind and so commit suicide. In a word Gandhi has conducted himself in a manner prejudicial to the safety not of the "public" but of the Bureaucracy. This is his crime.

Can he be dealt with fairly under the Defence of India Act? Most emphatically not—not unless Defence of India means neither more nor less than defence of the Bureaucracy.

If Mr. Gandhi were prosecuted for breaking the Press Act we should raise no protest. But the application of the Defence of India Act against the saintly Gandhi is, we repeat, a gross abuse of power; and we seriously warn government that the step is sure to defeat its own object. Gandhi externed or interned is more dangerous than Gandhi free. The body of Gandhi may be restrained, but can his spirit be?

The Higher Life.

(By K. Sundararama Aiyar, M.A.)

(*Concluded.*)

Bergson represents to us the high water mark of Western and Modern scientific speculation. The intellect and its rational constructions cannot give us an idea of the absolute,—and Intuition alone enables us to seize it. Intuition is the faculty which enables us to seize an object by setting ourselves into its interior so as to coincide with what is unique and real in it. Knowledge obtained by Intuition is absolute, for, in this coincidence of the mind with the object, the "point of view"—as Bergson calls it—disappears. The whole object is apprehended in its reality, perfection, infinity and simplicity. By symbolism or analysis we shatter this simple intuition and only obtain a knowledge of predicates, images and concepts,—

a *relative* knowledge, not an absolute knowledge transcending representation. The exigencies of life lead us away more and more from the inner core of reality towards its external manifestations. The mind, if it is to become metaphysical and to *intuite* the reality, must cease to be practical. The control of reality through intelligent analysis or intelligent activity only thwarts intuition and its perception of reality. Such control is needed only where there is a duality perceived,—ourselves and something other than ourselves—and where, therefore, there is still need for righteousness. Intuition puts an end to all "otherness"—to use Bergson's phrase;—for, it makes the thinker one with that which is thought, and the recognition of this identity leads to peace. Where each individual or species is pitched against another it tends to the utilisation of its own allotted share of activity in its own interest, and this can only mean action which is calculated to oppose the universal and unchanging substratum or essence constituting reality. Where, on the other hand, Intuition recognises the oneness of the central vital impetus, the consciousness becomes supra-personal,—*i.e.*, abstracted from all personal bearings and associations, and we pass from the recognition of change to the recognition of the identity which is the one life or reality.

Such being the essence of Bergson's doctrine regarding the goal of human existence, it is, indeed, startling to find that he should have chosen to remain silent on its ethical, social, and religious bearings. We are not, however, without light as to what his views must be or where they must tend. If, as he says, the impetus of life "seizes on matter, which is necessity itself, and strives to introduce into it the largest possible amount of indetermination and liberty," then whatever conduct helps to remove the shackles imposed by matter must promote the joy of true liberation. Bergson speaks of "the consciousness, or supra-consciousness that is at the origin of life." If so, it is necessary to circumvent life's changing forms and phenomenal manifestations and rise to the realisation of their eternal and noumenal source.

The higher life, then, is what helps us to realise the One Existence only without a second. It is the life of *karma*, *bhakti*, and *jnana* which have been proclaimed by the sages of India as alone capable of emancipating the soul from the bondage of Samsara. Sri Sankaracharya says;—

कर्माणि चित्तशुद्ध्यर्थमैकाग्र्यमुपासनम् ।
मोक्षार्थं ब्रह्मविज्ञानमिति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥

"The service of gods and men is intended to purify the mind; the worship of the Supreme Isvara is intended to remove the mind's distractions and acquire for it the power of one-pointed concentration; the illuminative realisation of Brahman is intended for the attainment of liberation from the bondage of Samsara."

Mr. E. B. Havell, in his recent interesting and valuable work on "The History of Aryan rule in India" says:—"Our Indo-Aryan brothers have perhaps more, than most Britons, of that deep veneration for true knowledge which has always been characteristic of the Aryan race." "*True Knowledge*" is not to be confined to materialistic science, as is too often supposed by the framers of modern

systems of education, but has for its culmination the attainment of the Supreme Brahman which has ever been the quest of our race and the fruit of our civilisation. The life of the spirit can alone be truly said to constitute the higher life: and, while most of its characteristic forms and features are such as to differentiate it from that of all other countries and regions of the world, the community which has had charge of them from time immemorial and which has ever had its home in India must fulfil its place in the order of the world. The spirit of the age is secular and materialistic; and, moreover, the dominant communities of the world are seized by the spirit of aggression and ascendency. Whether the founding of the League of Nations will introduce a larger spirit of unity and brotherhood among nations is still only a matter for uncertain speculation. It is equally a matter for doubt whether it will ever happen that "the deep level thought of the Indian sages may some day spiritualise the too material life of Europeans,"—as a Western writer suggests. Meanwhile, we—Hindus—ought not to forget what a great living writer—Professor Bertrand Russell, F. R. S.—has pointed out, *viz.*, that "the civilised world has need of fundamental change if it is to be saved from decay—change both in its economic structure and in its philosophy of life." The Indian economic (and social) structure is now in decay, and also its spiritual life. But both can be, and ought to be, rejuvenated and restored in their integrity so as to replace the Holy Motherland on her ancient throne of spirituality. It is only by pursuing the higher life of Karma, Bhakti, and Jnana as laid down by our Veda and Vedanta that we can best fulfil our mission in the world and at the same time build up the future greatness of the Holy People so as to restore to us our decayed sense of self-respect, self-determination, and self-realisation.

देशेऽस्मिन्भारते जन्म प्राप्य मानुष्यमध्रुवम् ।
न कुर्यादात्मनः श्रेयस्तेनात्मा वञ्चितश्चिरम् ॥

The Dreams of the Soul.

(By An Indian Dreamer).

IX

One calm and radiant morning both earth and heaven were bathed in light and smiled with joyful looks divine.

But I carried in my heart my sinful glooms and could not see the splendours all around.

My heart's natural sweetness was slain by the pervasive poison of desire.

But a sudden sight shone on my vision re-dowered me with joy and peace and love.

In the smiling lake open to the sapphire smiles of the sky I saw a boy and a girl standing breast deep in the dimpling waters.

Their bodies shone like burnished gold and their quivering radiance of shining youth shone like a robe of glory about their frames.

Each threw on the other crystal waters flashing in the sunlight like scattered diamonds.

Even brighter than these diamonds were their beautiful teeth in their coral case of luscious lips.

Sweet sounds of keen delight came from their tuneful throats and they shouted and danced amidst the dancing ripples.

I felt a sudden lightening of the ancient load on my heart and my soul was full of the sweetness of peace and love and rapture.

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA II.

(*continued.*)

त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥४५॥

The Vedas have as their theme त्रैगुण्य *i.e.*, the sum-total of embodied life which is the result of the operation of the three Gunas. O Arjuna, thou must become free from these Gunas (qualities), free from the various dualities of life, ever rooted in the Sattvic quality, unabsorbed in acquisition and preservation, and full of attained self-mastery through reliance on God.

NOTES:

1. In this stanza the Lord tells us that the qualities of sattva, rajas, and tamas are of the essence of the realms of mind and matter, the soul being different from them—the Eternal Witness, the Eternal Consciousness, and the Eternal Bliss.

2. *Guna* is properly speaking energy rather than quality—the mind being the storehouse of superfine energies which are far subtler and more powerful than the energies that reside in matter. This aspect will be dealt with in full in the later chapters of the Gita.

3. The Lord distinguishes in this stanza the higher type of men as compared with those who are attached to *karmas* and not to *Karmayoga*. *Karmayoga* illumines us and dowers us with Eternal Bliss.

4. Sri Venkatanatha explains well a very important aspect. Why should the Vedas then teach this intricate maze of Karmas? They appeal to the totality of souls who are of different grades of rootedness in *Samsara* and gives us the totality of purifying *Karmas* leaving each soul to take up that purifying *Karma* suited to its birth and fitness. Those who are not fit as yet to seek final emancipation and in whom the mental energies have to be guided have to be led from a life of aimless activity to a life of purifying *Karmas*, thence to Karmayoga, thence to Bhakti aad Jnana, and thence to Moksha. Sri Ramanuja says well: तमःप्रचुराणां रजःप्रचुराणां सत्वप्रचुराणां च वत्सलतरतयैव हितमवबोधन्ति वेदाः ।

5. The only means to God-realisation is the attainment of the pure *Sattvic* state by rising above the state where our Sattva guna is constantly attacked and upset by *rajas* and *tamas*.

6. It is only then that we would cease to be constantly unsettled by the dvandvas (pain and pleasure, heat and cold, etc). In verse 14 the Lord has taught us the secret of the victory over these *dvandvas*. If the preponderance of Satva Guna is attained, the *dvandvas* which are the result of the other two *gunas* will not affect us.

7. The Lord then tells us the means of the attainment of the sattvic state. It is dispassion, the getting rid of the hankering after acquisition and preservation. योग is acquisition (अलब्धलाभ) and क्षेम is preservation (लब्धपरिपालन).

8. Then the question arises, how are we to live? Sri Madhusoodana and Brahmananda Giri explain आत्मवान् as meaning reliant on God. The Lord says later on in the Gita तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहं. Sri Madhusoodana says well: आत्मा परमात्मा ध्येयत्वेन योगक्षेमादिनिर्वाहकत्वेन च वर्तते यस्य स आत्मवान्. Sri Madhwa says that the Lord prohibits the acquisition and preservation of what is forbidden.

9. Sri Madhwa explains that विषय means "the apparent meaning" and says that the real inner meaning of every portion of the Vedas is the praise of God.

वेदे रामायणे चैव पुराणे भारते तथा ।
आदावन्ते च मध्ये च विष्णुः सर्वत्र गीयते ॥

10. There is no inconsistency between निस्त्रैगुण्य and नित्यसत्त्वस्थ. It is only through the latter that the former *viz.*, the Self established in its own glory above the Gunas स्वे महिम्नि प्रतिष्ठितः can be realised.

11. I may note in passing that in

त्रैगुण्यविषयाः विषयाः is explained thus by Sri Madhwa: विष=poison याः=dispellers. Then the word would mean *dispellers of the poison of samsara.* The natural meaning of the words in connection with the context which deals with Karmayoga as higher than mere karmic life and as leading to Bhakti and Jnana has been already given by me.

यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।

तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ ४६ ॥

Whatever purpose can be attained by a small pond can be as surely attained in a large reservoir of water. Even so all the fruits described in all the Vedas are included and transcended in the fruit attained by the man of renunciation who is full of God-realisation.

Or Just as in a large reservoir of water as well as in a small tank the thirsty man seeks only his object, (*viz.*, the water needed to quench his thirst), so in all the Vedas the man seeking liberation has the same object (*viz.*, the teaching that is the true and all-sufficient means of Moksha).

NOTES:

1. This verse has been a puzzle and many translators have made mess of it. The two meanings above-said bring out two aspects of the thought contained in the stanza.

2. The Lord tells us why if Karmas lead to Samsara, Karmayoga should be done? It does not bind us. The bliss brought by it includes and transcends all the minor joys brought by the performance of the Vaidika Karmas, In this view the first of the two translations becomes full of meaning and beauty.

3. It has been said in the Sruti about Brahmananda. "एतस्यैवानन्दस्यान्यानि भूतानि मात्रामुपजीवन्ति" "सोऽश्नुते सकलान् कामान् सह ब्रह्मणा विपश्चिता"

4. Sri Sankaracharya explains "Brahmana" as meaning *Sanyasi.* Sri Ramanujacharya explains it as meaning *Vaidika*; and Sri Madhwa explains it as meaning a knower of God. It does not mean one who is a mere Brahmin by birth.

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।

मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूः मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥ ४७ ॥

Thy domain is work and not the fruits of work at any time. Do not be the source of further embodiment (as the result of action with desire for results). Neither do thou become addicted to inaction.

NOTES:

1. The selfish desire for pleasure of however exalted a kind must go before we can have the grace of the Goddess of liberation (मोक्षलक्ष्मीकटाक्ष) It is not abstention from Karma that should be aimed at but abstention from motived action which yields us only fleeting and petty results. It is *Karmayoga* that leads us to Bhakti and Jnana. कषाये कर्मभिः पक्के ततो ज्ञानं प्रवर्तते ॥

2. There should be no giving up of duty. When the soul is full of God-love and God-realisation *Karma* itself drops off. न कर्माणि त्यजेद्योगी कर्मभिस्त्यज्यते ह्यसौ, सुतहस्तस्य पुण्यवत् ।

(To be continued.)

The proposed League of Nations Right *vs.* might.

(BY KAPILESWAR BHATTACHARYA.)

To prevent future wars, and to ensure stable peace of the world, President Wilson is earnestly engaged in establishing a League of Nations. The idea is, of course, not a new one, and it would not have now captured the imagination of the people so much, were it not for the intense and extensive suffering caused by the terrible world-war. There is no good or evil in the economy of Nature that is not accompanied or followed by its corresponding opposite, either manifest or disguised. The greater the evil, the greater is the resulting good.

It is not at all creditable to the much vaunted modern civilisation that an International High Court for settling international disputes has been so long overdue, and that a devastating world war continuously for four and a half years was necessary to convince the civilised West, that war is really too bad to be further tolerated. Before, however, suffering humanity can congratulate itself on the prospect of an enduring peace, let it not be

deluded by catch-phrases and commonplaces. The idea, for instance, of substituting *Right* for *Might*, is very captivating indeed; but on examination it will be found that this, as understood by the "Great Powers," is "distinction without a difference." There is hardly any material difference between what are commonly known as *right* and *might*. The methods of *might* are of course primitive rude and naked, but they have the advantages of being natural, open, direct and quick in decision. The methods of *right*, on the other hand, are conventional and disguised under civilised or legislative garb, but both are essentially the same in substance; and like *force*, *motion* and *heat* are but the different forms of one and the same thing. Just as currency is the convenient and conventional equivalent of crude commodities, so is *Right* the conventional and convenient equivalent of *Might*. *Right* is the stamped coin, issued from the Legislative Mint of which *Might* is the metal. If a mint cannot turn genuine coins out of base metals, how can a League of Nations be expected to manufacture *rights* out of the existing base materials? The evolution of an International Jurisprudence would no more be an indication of improved international morality, than the evolution of the medical science is an indication of improvement on the primitive rustic health. Courts of law have never been known to have done duties of reformatories. Legal institutions can, at their best, minimise only the outward expressions of primitive warfare and other criminal activities; but so long as the brute in man is not killed or extinct, these old evils are sure to survive, thrive and appear in various other forms disguised in scientific and civilised garbs. We are not quite sure, that in spite of our civilisation, the proportional sum-total of human criminality and immorality is less to-day than it was in the ancient days. Good and evil, as we call them, are both equally subject to the same universal Law of Evolution. In the natural order of things there is no such thing as *evil* in existence. There is evolution of the so-called *evil* going on side by side with the evolution of what is known as *good*. Courts of law more often create than cure crimes. The League of Nations may suppress or minimise visible expressions of militarism, but human nature remaining as it is, the League would be powerless to prevent the natural, open and blunt military form of *might* evolving and appearing in civil, refined and unobtrusive disguises of various kinds, such as bribery and corruption in more or less subtle forms.

If *right* is to replace *might*, what would become of the scientific theory of the "survival of the fittest"? The scientists might have laid down—"Survival of the best," but they used the word "*fittest*" instead of the word *best* for a very good reason; and that is because of the fact that the *best* is not always under present conditions the *fittest* to survive. Right of title to a possession may be either acquired or inherited. In either case it is a transmitted and latent form of what was originally gained by *might*. How did the European settlers in America, Africa, Australia and Asia establish their respective rights over the helpless aboriginies of those continents? Were the methods employed by them morally justifiable? On what moral principle can a *wrong* be converted into *right* after a certain period? Can a person guilty of, say, murder be converted into an innocent man after a certain number of years arbitrarily fixed by human legislators? In international ethics has any, and if so what, time limit been fixed up to now that can convert *might* into *right*? Let us take, for instance, the quarrel over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These two provinces must have been in existence since the creation of the world and they had been lying there long before the present disputants were born and they would remain there long after these disputants vanished from the face of the earth. The warring nations do not realise that none of them have any moral right to be the landlord, Before them countless races in prehistoric days, appeared and occupied these two bits of territory in succession and then disappeared. How then is *Right* to be defined and determined? In a word what ought to be the criterion or test of *Right*? Rulers punish their poor subjects when they fail to pay their rents and taxes, but these rulers never recognise the fact that they themselves are only "*tenants at will*" of the unseen but *Real* Landlord of the Universe. It is not that these rulers do not believe in His existence, as they offer victory prayers, but they do not recognise that rent or obligation in any kind or shape is at all due to Him! Is President Wilson or any of

the afflicted nations sure that these dreadful wars are not the Supreme Landlord's punishments for recovery of arrears of rents due to Him? Have these suffering nations and their rulers ever cared to fulfil their obligations due to the Universal Landlord who, though unseen, is manifested in the world-organism? Wars are only punishments of defaulting rulers and nations.

There are many scriptural and moral precepts such as—"Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you;" "Freedom of everybody limited by like freedom of others."—These are no doubt excellent ethical principles, but these do not go deep enough. As a general rule people will not give up their selfishness or make sacrifices for the sake of others unless and until they are assured that such sacrifices are more paying in the long run, unless and until they are convinced that their true self-interests lie in the interest of their *Real Self*. All individual and national interests should be subordinated to and co-ordinated with, the interests of that Highest Self. If people can submit themselves to amputation of any of their injured limbs for the preservation of their whole being, why should not people readily submit to immediate temporary sacrifices for the sake of achieving the highest objective, the *Real Self*? We find this enunciated in the *Mahabharat* thousands of years ago, in a form of expression, still unsurpassed by any even at this enlightened age. Speaking to *Dhritarashtra* regarding his ill-fated son Duryodhana, the wise Bidur said:—

"एकं त्यजेत् कुलस्यार्थे ग्रामस्यार्थे कुलं त्यजेत् ।
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थे आत्मार्थे पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥

"One (who is mischievous) should be forsaken for the sake of the whole family. One family should be forsaken for the sake of the village. A village should be forsaken for the country, and the whole world should be forsaken for the sake of the *Atman*, the Supreme Self or Soul."

Selfishness had been condemned *ad nauseam* long before President Wilson appeared on the scene. He is neither the first nor the foremost person to have condemned selfishness. If the whole world is giving him so much attention and prominence, it is not because his gospel is a new one, but because he wields more *might* now than he ever did before, and also because, after the disastrous world war peoples are now in a mood to listen to his message in spite of its being very old and commonplace. His conception of *right*, praiseworthy though it is, is not founded on any universally accepted basic principle. *Right* determined by a majority, actuated more or less by self-interest, is only a veiled form of the supremacy of *Might*. That the delegates will invariably be the true representatives of the peoples and that the majority will always be on the right side, are the most common; yet the most unsound assumptions. In spite of evolution of civilisation and moral conceptions, man cannot help being selfish. Selfishness is the natural spring of life and as such there is nothing to be condemned. It is an altogether untenable proposition that individuals and nations should give up their selfishness and that wars are the results of such selfishness. The truth is all the other way about. As a matter of fact wars are not the results of national selfishness, as is commonly believed, but on the contrary they are the results of *want of true selfishness*. It is the *ignorance* of the *true self* that is the root of the evil. The real remedy lies in removing this fundamental ignorance *in knowing and realising the true self*. The whole *Vedanta* stands out in bold relief as the one serious endeavour ever made in finding out the true and essentially permanent *self* by analytical dissections of the human being known as "*I*." It is the knowledge and not the knowledge only but the *realisation* of the true *self* that can alone eradicate the false, the impermanent, and the delusive selfishness and implant the conception of the Real Selfishness.

According to the science of Sociology, society is a big animal and its component parts are all harmoniously inter-related for the fulfilment of the whole organism; and that one part cannot live and flourish at the expense of another, is a truth now universally admitted but not adequately realised. The proposed League of Nations, with all its imperfections at the initial stage, will prove really a step forward if all the component members recognise and realise their true self-interests harmoniously with the rest for the eventual evolution and fulfilment of the world organism as a whole. This is the basic principle on recognition of which the success of the League entirely depends. We cannot

expect much out of a League as it is going to be constituted. Delegates representing only a false notion of self-interests can hardly be competent to serve the great purpose. On the contrary, there is the fear that there is the possibility of an evil being legalised and perpetuated.

Neither precepts nor laws are necessary to induce capitalists to invest their money in the most profitable concern possible. The greater the profit the greater would be the attraction. When the nations are enlightened enough to realise that they are but the different limbs or organs of one whole world-animal they would not require any League to enforce sacrifices of their immediate and temporary interests for the sake of the remote but best investment. The whole world is badly in need of the knowledge of the true Self. The pursuit of the impermanent and false interests will only lead them more and more in the wrong direction. "Knowledge" in the highest sense of the term is the only remedy for all the ills, individual and international, humanity is heir to.

There can possibly be no inter-organic rivalry between say the liver, the spleen and other organs; they perform their respective functions mechanically, quite unconscious of their inter-dependence. The evolution of the world-organism—the ideal of the science of sociology—is progressing gradually and will certainly be advanced by the inevitable sequences of this great war. International jealously and rivalry ought not to have arisen amongst the different nationalities that are supposed to be self-conscious. Rivalry and conflict of interests among nations are caused by competition, which, again, is due to very imperfect adjustment and unintelligent distribution of functions among the component nations. In a perfect or rather healthy society there should be perfect *co-ordination* and not *competition* or overlapping of functions. In an ideal society there should be as many different "*self-determined*" nationalities. And thus there should be no room for conflict of interests, jealousy, and rivalry.

The determination of international rights, is purely a judicial function and the League of Nations, as it is proposed to be constituted, can hardly be regarded as a competent judicial tribunal. It should serve the functions of the *Brain* in the world organism. And as such it should be constituted by the best intellects and moral philosophers of the whole world. It should be so constituted as to form the Supreme Legislature of the whole world. To be able to discharge its functions impartially, it is essential that its members should be altogether free from and above the influences of narrow national and sectarian local interests, and that they should be regarded as fit to view international questions of *right* and *wrong* from the highest standpoint of Humanity as a whole. In the ancient East, it was the ascetic *Rishis* (seers) who legislated, and not the representatives of commerce, trades and various industries. The kings were merely the Executive Heads; they had no power to make laws, but had to administer with the help of interpreters or ministers, laws that had been laid down for them by the disinterested ascetic Rishis on universal spiritual principles as known by them in their time.

"*Justice*" is a Divine Ordinance; and far higher than *politics*. President Wilson's ideal, high and noble though it is, falls far short of the true concept of "Justice." That the League of Nations should be composed of not the spiritual but the political representatives of the Powers, and that the Great Powers should have the preponderating voice, are practically the same old motto—"might is right" put in another form. The world has no spiritual heads or representatives to come forward and take up their legitimate functions at this most critical moment! The Church as a spiritual force and the highest tribunal for deciding questions of "*international justice*" is quite impotent. This shows the extent of the spiritual and intellectual degeneration of the world. International justice is going to be dealt with not by the *wisest* and the *best* men in the world, but by a band of interested politicians of certain powers and predominantly of the "great powers." Only self-governing powers will be represented. That is to say those powers that are strong enough to protect themselves will be protected. The smaller powers will be practically in a minority; and the rest, all the subject-nations and peoples, will be left out altogether. In an International Court constituted as above, *might* will be more in evidence than *right*. Mr. Wilson felt for the helpless peoples more than for the more powerful. His League of Nations

will not help the helpless. There ought to be in future at least a "League of the Subject-peoples" established side by side with the League of Nations so that the unrepresented subject-peoples may represent their wants and wishes.

The Modern Review.

Notes and Comments.

Messrs. Shukul and Mazrul Haque also have resigned their seats in the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act but we are afraid the resignations are rather too late to make any impression. For the Secretary of State, who could have advised his Majesty to veto the Act in view of the unanimous opposition to it, has stated in the House of Commons that this action has been taken after careful consideration on the advice of an influential representative Commission and the Government of India were satisfied that it was essential to peace and security that the Government should be armed with these exceptional powers to be applied only in areas where anarchical and revolutionary crime was proved to exist. The Secretary of State clearly said that he was not prepared to disregard the findings of the Commission and the views of the Government of India by advising His Majesty to disallow the Act. Thus the last hope of all constitutional agitators has been given the quietus. Nobody as we said once before, takes objection to the aim of the Act. All are certainly agreed that all anarchical and revolutionary movements should be nipped in the bud. But even the devil must have his due. Till a person is convicted he must be presumed to be innocent and must have a fair and full judicial trial with all facilities to prove his innocence. This is what is not provided for in the new legislation and hence the unanimous protest.

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Later reports of the results of the Satyagraha movement are too disqueting and horrible to contemplate. Disorderly mob-risings and consequent riotings and other excesses including loss of life have become the order of the day. Almost every day we now hear of atrocities at one place or another with the result that there is enormous loss of both life and property. The poor people are suffering immensely. These riots coming on the top of the keen economic distress and extraordinarily high rise of prices disturb the society in such a terrible way that it is not easy to describe it in words. The havoc wrought and the misery caused are too horrible to have been even thought of when the satyagraha movement was first proposed. Destruction of public buildings incendiarism and bloodshed are not at all items bargained for when Satyagraha was first mooted. In fact they are entriely opposed to the spirit of Satyagraha. Mr. Gandhi himself calls it as worse than Duragraha. He deplores in no measured terms the violence and bloodshed caused in different parts of the country in the name of Satyagraha. He clearly says that a satyagrahi is responsible for the results that follow from that movement. He even proposes to adandon the movement if it could not be conducted without the slightest violence on the part of the people. He has issued a message to the public saying that the following instructions to the Public should be strictly obeyed.

"No procession, no organised demonstration, no hartal on any account whatsoever without instructions of the Committee.

"All Police orders to be implicitly obeyed.

"No violence, no stone throwing, no obstructions to tramcars and other traffic, no pressure to be exercised against any one.

"At public meetings no clapping of hands, no demonstrations of approval or disapproval, no cries of shame, no cheers, perfect stillness, perfect obedience to intructions of volunteers or management."

But these instructions are too much for the mob to follow during the progress of riots. No attention was paid to them during the most deplorable riots at Amritsar, Delhi and Ahmedabad, Mr. Gandhi became weighed down with the burden of entire responsibility for having started the movement. In his latest speech at Ahmedabad he admitted he was sorry he had overcalculated the chances of Satyagraha being understood by the masses. This is exactly what we apprehended at the very commencement. But Mr. Gandhi, in his own simple way, thought every one to be as saintly and spiritual as himself. And it has cost

the lives of several innocent people both European and Indian before Mr. Gandhi has realised the danger. We trust in future at least Mr. Gandhi would so restrict the movement as to cause no violence whatever and if that be impossible we would even suggest to his serious consideration the complete abandonment of the movement.

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The Government of India have been wise in taking prompt and stern measures to put down the riots wherever they broke out. They first of all published a resolution in a Gazette of India Extraordinary asserting in the clearest manner the intention of the Government to prevent by all means, however drastic, any recurrence of these excesses. His Excellency says "he will not hesitate to employ the ample military resources at his disposal to suppress organised outrage, rioting or concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order and has already sanctioned the application of State Offences Regulation 1804 in a modified form to certain districts of the Panjab. He will further use all preventive measures provided by the statutes to check disorder at its source and in Regulation 3 of 1818 and the corresponding regulations applicable to Bombay and Madras and in the rules under the Defence of India Act, he has powers which will enable him to deal effectively with those who promote disorder. He has sanctioned the extensions of the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the districts of Lahore and Amritsar in the Panjab and will authorise a similar extension to other areas in which local Governments see reason to require it. The Police Act of 1861 enables a local Government to quarter additional police on any locality which is guilty of organised offences against the public peace at the charge of the inhabitants and to levy from the latter compensation for those who have suffered from injury to their property. The Governor-General-in-Council will advise local Governments to make a free use of these provisions where necessary." While deeply regretting the lamentable loss of life and property which necessitated the issue of this Resolution we cannot but recognise that the measures taken were under the circumstances inevitable. We fully trust that the appeal of His Excellency to all loyal subjects of the Crown and to all those who have an interest in the maintenance of law and protection of property, both to dissociate themselves publicly from the movement and to exert themselves in quieting unrest and preventing disorder, will have the desired effect.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Letter to Mahatma Gandhi.

The following letter has been sent to Mr. M. K, Gandhi by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore and also communicated to the Press:

Shantiniketan,
April 12, 1919.

Dear Mahatmaji,—

Power in all its forms is irrational, it is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, injustice leading to violence and insult to vengefulness. Unfortunately, such a force has already been started, and either through panic or through wrath, our authorities have shown us their claws whose sure effect is to drive some of us into the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralisation.

In this crisis you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the ideal which you know to be that of India, the ideal which is both against the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the coward submissiveness of the terror-stricken. You have said, as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come.

"Akkodhena jine kodham asadhum sadhuna jine" "Conquer anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good."

This power of good must prove its truth and strength by its fearlessness, by its refusal to accept any imposition, which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machines of destruction to terrorise a people completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in success, that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself, it is the victory of the active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt, and said accordingly that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering, the suffering which is the crown of the great. Armed with her utter faith in goodness, she must stand unabashed before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit.

And you have come to your Motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty.

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into your marching line that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms, descending into the self-deception that hides itself behind sacred names.

With these few words for an introduction allow me to offer the following as a poet's contribution to your noble work;

I

Let me hold my head high in this faith that thou art our shelter, that all fear is mean distrust of thee.

Fear of man? But what man is there in this world, what king, O King of kings, who is thy rival, who has hold of me for all time and in all truth?

What power is there in this world to rob me of my freedom? For do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon walls, bringing unfettered release to the soul?

And must I cling to this body in fear of death, as a miser to his barren treasure? Has not this spirit of mine the eternal call to the feast of everlasting life?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment; that the dark force which sweeps between me and thy truth is but the mist before the sunrise; that thou alone art mine for ever and greater than all pride of strength that dares to mock my manhood with its menace.

II

Give me the supreme courage of love, this is my prayer—the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at thy will, to leave all things or be left alone.

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer,—the faith of the life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

Very sincerely yours,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Random Jottings.

[BY A SON OF INDIA.]

And so the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramanujachari does not seek re-election to the Council. But why should he? Has he not earned—not as a matter of patronage, but by sheer force of deserts—his reward at the hands of our amiable *Justice*. What more can a man, or better still, need a man, aspire to than the recognition of sobriety of views, and sound commonsense, by no less an authority than the redoubtable organ of the South Indian Liberal Federation? Was it not an instance of irreverent imperti-

nence pure and simple, on the part of the Hon. Mr. Venkatapathi Raju when he called our dear Ramanujachari a "Government non-official"? We wish the Rao Bahadur a pleasant rumination over his recent feats in the Council Chamber.

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Philologists say that certain words in the English language have degenerated in meaning; it is said that the word 'cunning,' originally meant only 'knowing,' 'sinister,' only meant 'left,' though they have now come to have a *sinister* meaning. We fear the same unhappy fate has overtaken the word 'liberal.' Chambers defines it as "adj. free from restraint, extensive; n. one who advocates greater freedom in Political Institutions." There is first the South Indian *Liberal* Federation with its retrogade and reactionary views. Then come the *Liberal* Leagues all over India, with their illiberal principles. Oh unhappy *liberal*!

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Mr. Sarma has resigned and withdrawn, Messrs. Jinnah, Malaviya and Shukul have resigned, and Mr. Haque is about to resign. Glorious achievement! Is not this enough to impress the minds of the bureaucrats here, and to present to the British world an idea of the universal opposition to the Rowlatt Bills?

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To Mr. Wood was reserved the credit of being the open champion of intemperance. In *fairness* to manual labourers he would not advocate the prohibition of drink. What an apostle of fairplay! Total prohibition of drink was a dangerous course which *no Government should think of doing.* A sound statesman that he is, he anticipates that you will cite America, and he is ready with his reply that there it has not been carried out in practice!

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Mr. Wood must have either misrepresented, or been misinformed of, the conditions obtaining in the United States. If it is the former we condemn it, and if it is the latter we pity him. We can only refer the Hon'ble gentleman to Mr. Saint Nihal Singh's splendid article in the current number of the 'Indian Review' on the "Extinction of the Liquor Traffic in America."

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Says Mr. Singh, "Wherever alcohol has been banished in America, poverty and dependence upon charity have been reduced, homes show signs of affluence, the deposits in Banks, especially Savings Banks, have risen, and facilities for education have increased. In every such place crime shows remarkable dimunition. Convictions for disorderly conduct, vagrancy, assault and battery and even more serious crimes such as rape and murder have greatly decreased." We make a present of these lines to Mr. Wood, and hope they will make him a wiser man.

Olla Podrida.

A few months ago a gentleman called Geetananda Yogi convulsed the Madras world with discourses. He said that Sri Krishna was against caste, wanted interdining and intermarriage, and commanded equality of sexes and freedom of women. I wonder how these people have found a short cut to Sri Krishna's heart. One of his most telling arguments may be here stated. If all our bright and brightly-dressed women are taken freely to mixed platforms and there is free social intercourse between the west and the east with their aid, then the regeneration of India will quickly follow. How can India preserve herself against so many determined regenerators!

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H. G. Wells says in *Joan and Peter* that "all the nations sharpen themselves like knives." Perhaps that is the only way for a nation to become a striking nation. The world might congratulate itself on this. But why keep up the cant of the growth of refinement and civilisation and progress and why look with supercilious eyes upon the past?

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The ethical and spiritual perfection of the west may be gathered also from another recent book by Mr. H. G. Wells. In his *God the Invisible King* he says that God is finite, not all wise, not the maker

of heaven or earth, is not Providence, does not punish, is courage and youth, and uses the state as his instrument. He abuses as childish and unphilosophical the view that God is Infinite, What philosophical analysis and acumen !

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In India also we have got new ways of acquiring spiritual power. We do not daily pray to God and lead pure lives and let our nature blossom forth and bear fruit in daily life. No ! All that is antiquated. We are to enjoy and disport ourselves like butterflies and gorge ourselves by taking in anything anywhere but we can in a moment achieve and attain individual and national salvation by attending shows and demonstrations and hearing shouting and screaming orators whose spiritual power has got a substantial basis of food and drink. We have the initiation of crowds in sacred *mantras* by a simultaneous act of initiation ; we have the spectacle of generation of spiritual power by means newly discovered and proclaimed to the world. When will the world realise that power is an inner grace and a providential gift and is the fruit of a life rooted in purity ?

SCRUTATOR.

The Week,

It is with deep regret that we have to record the sudden death, on the morning of the 11th inst., of Iyanvaru Gopi Sastrigal the father of the present Sri Jagadguru of Sringeri. The deceased was aged 69 and enjoyed excellent health till the last. He went to bed as usual on the night of the 10th inst., when at about 12 midnight he had a fit of cough resulting in complete unconsciousness and loss of motion in the limbs. The deceased was a native of Sringeri, well versed in Sanskrit literature and philosophy. When the call came from the late Jagadguru he made over his only surviving son, the present Jagadguru, to be consecrated to the Sri Sarada Peetham, When His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore visited Sringeri during the Kumbhabhishekam in 1916 His Highness had the kindness to send for the deceased pandit and personally convey to him how deeply grateful he and the rest of the world were towards him for his self-sacrificing and generous gift of his only surviving son to the renowned Vyakhyana Simhasana. Further His Highness then presented him with a pair of richly embroidered shawls as a token of His Highness' pleasure.

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An urgent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has been convened at the Bombay Presidency Association to meet on Sunday the 20th inst., at 11 A.M., to consider the political situation.

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The Bengalee writes :—As at present arranged Messrs. N. M. Samarth and K. C. Roy are proceeding to England early next week by the S. S. Ormond as the first batch of the Moderate Deputation to England. The second batch consisting of Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Hriday Nath Kunzru (of Allahabad) will proceed about the end of this month. And the third consisting of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji the President of the Deputation and Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray and another gentleman will sail about the 10th of the next month. The last batch making up the compliment is not likely to proceed before the third week of May. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and the Hon. Mr. Ramachandra Rao with three others will form the rear.

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The Indian Mirror writes :—In reply to a question put in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council, the Government has admitted that a retired European Officer of the Indian Medical Service has been appointed Medical adviser to the Maharani of Bettiah on a salary of Rs. 2000 per mensem. As the Bettiah Estate is under the administration of the Court of Wards, we presume it is Government that is responsible for this appointment which is objectionable on various grounds. The Maharani is an elderly orthodox pardanashin lady and to place her under the medical charge of a European Doctor is absolutely unjustifiable, seeing that there is no paucity of lady doctors both European and Indian any of whom would have been only too glad to accept the post at one fourth or one-fifth the salary given to this retired European physician. We are sure that left to herself the Maharani would have never even dreamt of appointing a European male doctor to the post of her medical attendant,

Then, is not the salary—Rs. 2000 per mensem,—preposterously high? We hope the Bihar Government will take an early opportunity of making other arrangements. The present appointment is a job and a stinking one too.

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A Correspondent writes to the Bombay Chronicle:—Rao Bahadur Dolatram Kashiram, a well-known citizen of Bombay, has, after hearing the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and his message to his countrymen, come to the conclusion that it is impossible to render co-operation to a Government which cannot help coming into conflict with Mr. Gandhi, who in Mr. Dolatram's words, is an incarnation of Truth, Love and Justice. Accordingly Mr. Dolatram has, as a first step, written to the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Bombay, returning the Badge and Ribbon of the title of Rao Bahadur and renouncing his title. The next step Mr. Dolatram took was to sign the Satyagraha pledge.

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What is loss to the Calcutta University is gain to the Mysore University. Dr. Brojendra Nath Seal goes to Mysore as Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University.

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Mr. M. K. Gandhi differentiates the Swadeshi and boycott movements as follows:—Swadeshi is the religious and natural duty of every man for the encouragement of home industries many of which are nearly ruined for want of encouragement. He does not believe in the argument levelled against swadeshi that it is impossible to succeed under present circumstances when the present output cannot meet the demand, since only a few lakhs of his countrymen can be prepared to take the vow under the present conditions. He is opposed to a boycott of British goods as suggested by some since it involves feelings of bitterness and punishment. They have no quarrel with the British people. Their quarrel is with the bureaucrats, but according to the spirit of Satyagraha they can have no ill-feeling towards the bureaucracy either. He does not therefore accept the principle of boycott. Swadeshi meant sacrifice both on the part of the consumer and the dealer. He therefore urges both to show their patriotism. He urges that those willing to take the vow of Swadeshi should begin by making bonfire of the foreign goods they posses (Does this denote absence of feelings of bitterness and punishment?—Ed.) He believes that nothing will be lost by the delay of a few days, but in order to make the movement stand on a successful foundation it is necessary that the number should be large as possible.

Wit and Wisdom.

There are three things which a good wife should resemble and yet those three things she should not resemble. She should be like a town clock—keep time and regularly. She should not however be like the town clock—speak so loudly that all the town may hear her. She should be like a snail—prudent and keep within her own house. She should not be like a snail—carry all she has upon her back. She should be like an echo—speak when spoken to. But she should not be like an echo—determined always to have the last word.

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A physician, seeing his patient about to drink a glass of brandy said. "Don't drink that filthy stuff; brandy is the worst enemy you have." "I know that" was the reply "but you know we are commanded in the Scripture to love our enemies.

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An old gentleman of the name of Page, finding a young lady's glove at a watering place, presented it to her with the following words:—

"If from your *Glove* you take the letter G.
Your *Glove* is *love*, which I devote to thee"

To which the lady returned the following answer:—

"If from your *Page* you take the letter *P*,
Your *Page* is *age*, and that won't do for me."

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A coxcomb once said to a barber's boy, "Did you ever shave a monkey?" "Why, no Sir," replied the boy, "never; but if you will please to sit down, I will try."

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